

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00  
NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 HA-05 OMB-01  
AID-05 TRSE-00 /131 W  
-----092695 240459Z /21

P 231349Z AUG 78  
FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY  
SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2993  
INFO AMEMBASSY DARESSALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GABORONE 2667

FROM CHARGE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PDEV, RH, BC  
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE

REF: USUN 3193

1. SUMMARY: WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING ALL-PARTIES CON-  
FERENCE (APC) WITH GOB OFFICIALS, LIBERATION GROUP REPS,  
AND WORKING LEVEL OFFICERS OF UK AND ZAMBIAN HIGH COMMIS-  
SIONS. ALL OF THESE CONTACTS SEEM TO HAVE COME TO TWO  
CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE LONG AWAITED CONFERENCE:

(A) APC IS LAST, BEST (AND PERHAPS ONLY) HOPE FOR  
NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF RHODESIAN CRISIS WITHOUT PRO-  
TRACTED AND BLOODY LIBERATION STRUGGLE. MOREOVER, IN  
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OPINION OF MOST OBSERVERS HERE, SALISBURY GROUP WILL  
SOON ACCEPT APC AS ONLY POSSIBLE WAY TO AREEST CON-  
TINUING DETERIORATION OF RHODESIAN MILITARY, POLITICAL  
AND ECONOMIC SITUATION.

(B) ALTHOUGH APC NOW APPEARS TO BE AN IDEA  
WHOSE TIME HAS COME, NO ONE WITH WHOM WE HAVE TALKED  
SEEMS TO HAVE VERY CONCRETE NOTION OF WHAT MIGHT BE

ACCOMPLISHED OR EVEN DISCUSSED BY ALL PARTIES AT CONFERENCE. THERE IS GENERAL APPREHENSION THAT APC WILL BE "ANOTHER GENEVA" WHOSE FAILURE WILL BE SIGNAL FOR BEGINNING OF END OF THE RHODESIAN TRAGEDY. WE MAY LESSEN CHANCE OF DISASTER BY PRESENTING SETTLEMENT "PACKAGE" TO BOTH SIDES; IN ANY CASE WE SEEM TO STAND TO LOSE LITTLE. END SUMMARY.

2. GOB OFFICIALS: (A) EMBOFF BRIEFLY DISCUSSED PROSPECTS FOR APC WITH EXTAFF PERM SEC MPOTOKWANE AND DEPUTY SECRETARY MOGAMI AT AUGUST 19 SOCIAL OCCASION. BOTH OFFICIALS WELCOMED RECENT STATEMENTS BY SMITH AND CHIRAU WHICH APPEARED TO ENDORSE IDEA OF APC. THEY NOW EXPECT THAT MUZOREWA WILL EVENTUALLY RELAX HIS OPPOSITION AND THAT APC WILL BE HELD. ALTHOUGH MPOTOKWANE IS ON LEAVE UNTIL EARLY OCTOBER, HE TOLD EMBOFF THAT HE WOULD BE STAYING IN GABORONE UNTIL AUGUST 29 FOR SOME "IMPORTANT MEETINGS" THAT "HE COULD NOT MISS". THE ALWAYS TACITURN MPOTOKWANE DID NOT DISCUSS NATURE OF THESE "MEETINGS", BUT WE SUSPECT THEY ARE IN SOME WAY RELATED TO RHODESIAN SITUATION.

(B) CHARGE' (ACCOMPANIED BY EMBOFF) HAD FULL AND FRANK CONVERSATION AUGUST 21 WITH SENIOR PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT, LEGWAILA. HE SAID APC IS LAST HOPE OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, FOR "IF IT FAILS THERE WILL BE NO OTHER". LEGWAILA STRESSED NEED CONFIDENTIAL

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OF HOLDING APC AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, AS EACH PASSING DAY SEES PF BECOMING MORE SELF-CONFIDENT AND INTRANSIGENT. ALTHOUGH BASICALLY PESSIMISTIC ABOUT CHANCES OF A SUCCESSFUL APC, (AND UNSURE WHAT THE APC AGENDA SHOULD CONTAIN), LEGWAILA SAID HISTORY DEMANDS WE, UK AND FL MAKE THE ATTEMPT. (THE ALTERNATIVE, HE SADLY DESCRIBED, IS A ZIMBABWE TOTALLY DESTROYED BY CIVIL WAR, PERHAPS INTERNATIONAL WAR, WITH THE MOST DIRE CONSEQUENCES FOR ALL SOUTHERN AFRICA). WHILE IT WAS RELATIVELY EASY TO GET THE FL UNITED ON NAMIBIA, IT IS IN EVERYONE'S INTEREST (ESPECIALLY ANGOLA'S) TO SECURE PEACE THERE. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGIES OF SOME FL STATES RENDER THEM MORE INTERESTED IN ACHIEVING INDEPENDENCE THROUGH WARFARE, AND THEREFORE IT WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT TO ATTAIN EFFECTIVE FL UNITY OF ACTION ON RHODESIA ("THE FRONTLINE IS A CONTRADICTION OF CONFLICTING IDEOLOGIES", LEGWAILA NOTED). ASKED WHAT HE THOUGHT WE, COLLECTIVELY COULD DO TO IMPROVE CHANCES FOR A SUCCESSFUL APC, LEGWAILA SUGGESTED (A) US USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH KAUNDA TO PRESSURE PF (PRIMARILY NKOMO) TO ATTEND EARLY APC, AND TO BE PREPARED TO MAKE REAL

CONCESSIONS IN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS, NOT SIMPLY TO STRIKE POSES; (B) US AND UK APPLY PRESSURE (PRE-SUMABLY THROUGH SAG) TO INTERNAL GROUP TO ACHIEVE SIMILAR POSITIVE MENTAL SET (LEST SMITH AND INTERNAL BLACK LEADERS ATTEND APC ONLY TO PROVIDE THE ILLUSION OF REASONABLENESS, AND, THEREBY, DEVELOP FURTHER INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THEIR GOVERNMENT); AND

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GABORONE 2667

FROM CHARGE

(C) THE OTHER FL STATES WORK ON ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE TO EXTENT POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN THEIR COOPERATION IN PERSUADING PF TO ATTEND APC WITH PROPER CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT. IN CONNECTION WITH LAST POINT, LEGWAILA SAID GOB WILL DO ALL IT CAN TO ATTAIN SUCCESSFUL APC, ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT WANT TO OVERESTIMATE INFLUENCE HIS MODERATE GOVERNMENT HAS WITH OTHER FL MEMBERS.

3. LIBERATION GROUPS: IN LAST WEEK OR TWO WE HAVE DISCUSSED APC WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF ZAPU AND ZANU AS WELL AS UANC SUPPORTERS FROM UNIVERSITY. THE ONLY

COMMON THREAD AMONG THEM IS A DEEP CONFUSION ABOUT THE  
CONCRETE ISSUES WHICH MIGHT COME UP AT APC. BOTH  
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ZAPU AND ZANU REPS STOUTLY REAFFIRM WILLINGNESS OF  
THEIR LEADERS TO ATTEND CONFERENCE, BUT THEY HAVE NO  
REAL IDEA OF THEIR CURRENT POSITIONS OR STRATEGIES.  
TYPICAL OF THIS CONFUSION IN THE RANKS WAS RECENT  
STATEMENT TO US BY ZANU REP THAT HIS PARTY STILL EX-  
PECTS UK TO TRANSFER POWER DIRECTLY TO PATRIOTIC  
FRONT (ALMOST AS IF MALTA AND DAR HAD NEVER TAKEN  
PLACE). THESE LIBERATION GROUP REPS ARE AD-  
MITTEDLY ON PERIPHERY OF WAR AND ILL-INFORMED OF  
CURRENT THINKING AMONG LEADERS OF THEIR OWN  
PARTIES. WE CAN ONLY HOPE THAT SERIOUS PREPARATION  
FOR APC HAS GONE FORWARD AT HIGHER LEVELS WITHIN PF  
AND AMONG INTERNAL NATIONALISTS.

4. AN APC WILL BE AN OPPORTUNITY FRAUGHT WITH GREAT  
RISKS. GIVEN THE CONFUSION WHICH SEEMS TO PREVAIL  
AMONG PARTICIPANTS IN THE STRUGGLE, AND DRAWING IN-  
STRUCTION FROM THE FIVE POWER STRATEGY WHICH "IMPOSED"  
THE WESTERN PLAN FOR NAMIBIA ON BOTH SAG AND SWAPO,  
IT MIGHT BE BEST IF WE AND UK (IN ADDITION TO OBVIOUS  
SUGGESTIONS MADE BY LEGWAILA), COULD AGREE ON A  
SETTLEMENT PACKAGE COVERING SUCH ISSUES AS INTER/ALIA:  
1) COMPOSITION OF GOVERNING COUNCIL AND PERSONALITY  
OF RESIDENT COMMISSIONER IN INTERIM PERIOD; (2) STRU-  
CTURE OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND SOME PROTECTION FOR  
WHITE INTEREST IN INDEPENDENCE CONSITUTION;  
(3) COMPOSITION OF SECURITY FORCES AND POLICE; AND  
(4) MODALITIES OF HOLDING FREE ELECTION. WITH THIS  
PACKAGE ALREADY HAMMERED OUT BY US AND UK, IT COULD  
BE PRESENTED TO BOTH SIDES IF, AS NOW SEEM LIKELY,  
THEY ARRIVE AT APC ILL-PREPARED (OR ILL-WILLED)  
FOR SERIOUS BARGAINING. BY PROPOSING SETTLEMENT  
PACKAGE WE RISK BEING ACCUSED BY ALL SIDES OF IM-  
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POSING SETTLEMENT, BUT WE HAVE ALREADY RUN THIS  
RISK BY PROMULGATION OF AAP. IT IS JUST POSSIBLE THAT  
ALL SIDES MIGHT PREFER AN IMPOSED SETTLEMENT TO THE  
CHAOS THAT WOULD FOLLOW AN UNSUCCESSFUL APC. WITH  
THE RISKS AND CONSEQUENCES OF FAILURE SO HIGH, WE  
92)? -003-4 59 #AVE FEW, IF ANY, VIABLE ALTERNATIVES.  
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## Message Attributes

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